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contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghruth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fez. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minsbuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only 325 metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, ●177 an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

326 412 439 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 412 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Megeo, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fez to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Marcus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

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342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too
358 are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 **Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques.** *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an
●177 innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 *Domes* are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni
764 Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since
177 domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 *Tiled roofs* are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of
177 the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat
346 of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 **Tents.** The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa*
[286] braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

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CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Munen, Iberrusben, Gzennaya

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[285]

[177]

[facing p. 78]

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spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thisfarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven. At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood. The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

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291 and Beni Bu Yahyi. At present the Metalsa have entirely discarded it, and the Beni Bu Yahyi wear it only on festive occasions. (See plate 25.)

ṯakhidusth. Three generations ago all Riffians wore a garment resembling a silham, but reaching only to the waist. This garment had a hood, lacked sleeves, and was heavily embroidered. It was worn over the jellaba and was considered highly decorative. The *ṯakhidusth* was woven on the woman's loom, as was the silham; jellaba cloth is always woven on the newer horizontal or man's loom.

ṯhashbiar, a woolen shirt. The sleeves of this garment reach to mid-forearm, its collar opens on one side, and entrance for the head is permitted by a slit reaching along one side of the shoulder from the opening in the neck to the top of the sleeve. (See plate 25.) The collar is fastened by a looped string. This type of shirt is made of white wool, is very heavy, and is elaborately embroidered with colored silk. The lower edge, called *ṯhimuar*, is ornamented by a row of heavy silken tassels called *thikhemesin*. This shirt is nearly as long as the jellaba, and is never tucked into the trousers. Over the *ṯhashbiar* the Riffian men sometimes wear another shirt, called by the same name and identical in form, except that the neck of the over-shirt is cut low enough for easy insertion of the head. At present woolen shirts of this type are difficult to find, since manufactured cotton cloth has been adopted almost universally in place of the heavier woolen material. The style and design have, however, remained the same.

saarwair (Arabic *serwal*), trousers, entered the Rif at the same time as American cotton cloth, called *melikan*, about a generation ago. The trousers made from this cloth are very broad and baggy, and reach to a point just below the knee. The front and back are indistinguishable, except for a reënforcement patch at the rear, put on when the trousers are made. The tailor uses several yards of cloth and does not waste a scrap of material. Embroidery is confined to the narrow cuffs; the trousers are held up by a string like pyjamas. (See plate 25.) Another distinct type of trouser is found in the Ghomara, very short, open, and wide, reaching only to mid-thigh and exposing the lower part of the abdomen. The Riffians ridicule the Ghomarans when they see them thus attired. The Riffian type is found throughout the Rif and Senhaja Sghir except among the Nomads, Ktama, and Beni Hamid. The Ghomaran type appears in Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja.

The garments just described were, with the exception of headgear and footgear, the only ones worn by the Riffians before the advent of Abd el Krim. During the early stages of the conflict with Spain, the Riffians, become in some cases affluent, went to Fez as tourists and brought home new and strange articles of clothing, notably the *bida'ia*, a woolen or felt vest of loud color, buttoning to the neck by means of many knotted tassels, and the *ferrajia*, a similar garment, reaching below the knees and equipped with broad, flowing sleeves. This latter garment resembles closely the familiar *ḳaftan*.

There are four principal types of masculine headgear, which will be described in the order of their antiquity.

1. *thaghareft*, a long narrow strip of stiff woolen cloth, with one end tapering and the other flat and broad. The flat, broad end is stuck up behind on the back of the head, and the tapering end tucked in when the turban has been wrapped around the head. This *thaghareft* forms a narrow turban which leaves the top of the head bare, and gives the appearance of a crown with an eminence behind. It is covered with heavy embroidery. The *thaghareft* is at present rare and difficult to obtain, partly because it has gone out of style,

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291 and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathiser. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhamiya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and crosstied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thaphareft*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thaphareft*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

[177] 3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

[177] 4. *aririth*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fez, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

291 The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanised in dress before
177 they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

291 Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghuqat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The
[293] ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghuqat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghuqat er kneith* is a leather cartridge
293 belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thazabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghzuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wuthath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

281 The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

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2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn.

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el ḥaik is the Arab ḥaik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *ḥash*, the men's ḥaik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance.

The garments of men are tailor-made by *ṭolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them.

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1]

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs

[1] El Bekri, p. 157.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

177 the culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

from various quarters. The latest, and from the point of view of religion greatest, wave of this kind came with the Arabic invasions, which brought to them Islam. And hand in hand with the rites and doctrines of their religion the Arabs introduced other customs and beliefs, even such as were actually forbidden by it; a rite of this kind is presumably the irreligious lamentations and self-lacerations of the female mourners which are practised by some of the Berbers, as well as by the Arabs.[1] The Bedouins who settled down on the plains of Morocco in the eleventh century were themselves very imperfectly Islamised, and their impiety and cynicism sometimes scandalised even the native inhabitants of the country;[2] yet they may have influenced the latter's customs and beliefs. The resemblances in these respects between the Berbers, as well as Arabs of Morocco, and the Arabs of the East, many of which will be pointed out on subsequent pages, are so manifold, even in little details, that we may assume a considerable Arab influence falling outside the pale of Islam. But on the other hand it is certain that many of these resemblances are *not* due to such influence; various forms of nature-worship may serve as an instance of this. Owing to our very deficient knowledge of the ancient Berbers, however, it is frequently impossible to say what is Arab by origin and what is Berber, and it may be futile even to make a conjecture on this point. We have, moreover, to take note of the fact that some similarities between the natives of Morocco and Arabic-speaking people of the East may have been caused by a common participation in an ancient Mediterranean culture. Instances of this will, for example, be found in the chapters on the evil eye, the agricultural rites, and the funeral and mourning ceremonies.

There has also been a Negro influence, which among the Berbers of the South no doubt commenced at a very early period when the southern border of their territory was more northerly than it is now,[3] and which has been maintained in later times through the influx of Negro slaves. This influence

[1] *Infra*, ii. 494 *sq.* [2] Marçais, *op. cit.* p. 713 *sq.*

[3] R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, quoted by van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 257 *sq.*

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MX3 Rif MX3

is very conspicuous in the rites of the Gnâwa,[1] and will probably prove to have had a considerably larger scope than is known at present.[2]

Several writers have perceived in certain Berber customs traces of Christian beliefs.[3] Christianity entered North Africa at an early date, and in the time of the Arab invasions there were a number of Christianised Berber tribes.[4] In Morocco Christian Berbers are said to have existed more than a century after the appearance of Islam, when Mûlâi Idrîs

FIG. 7.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

subdued the last Berbers in that country who still remained "Christians, Jews, or idolaters".[5] It does not seem, however, that Christianity ever gained any considerable hold of the Berbers. In more recent times there were settlements

[1] *Infra*, i. 379 *sqq.* See also *infra*, i. 381 *sq.*

[2] On this subject *cf.* van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 257 *sqq.*

[3] See Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire* (London, 1899), p. 309 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 395.

[4] Joannes Abbas, 'Chronicon', in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, lxxii. (Parisiis, 1849), col. 866; Abû 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, ed. and trans. by Tornberg (Upsaliae, 1843), p. 15; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *op. cit.* i. 177, 207, 209; Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* i. 163.

[5] *Raôḍ al-Qarṭâs*, trans. by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 16.

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MX3 Rif MX3

177 of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.[1] But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;[2] but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.[3] According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;[4] but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;[5] and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.[6] Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.[7] Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.[8]

171 Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it[9]), but largely also

[1] Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 *sq.*
[2] *Infra*, i. 451 *sq.* [3] *Infra*, i. 134, 226.
[4] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 *sq.* *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 *sq.*
[5] *Infra*, ii. 153 *sqq.* [6] *Infra*, i. 395 *sq.*
[7] *Infra*, i. 100 *sq.* *Cf.* ii. 86, 253.
[8] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.
[9] Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: C"LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

177 671 779 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 571 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in 613 621 619 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 (602) 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 279 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, (273) in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational [596] depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

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[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [199] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o e s e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 794 interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), reserving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 423 794 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath, in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 794 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

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17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

000 2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE:

(Most of this section is made up of the Introduction, in manuscript form and unpublished, to La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte--Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939)

671 A) Characteristics: (fragmentary):

1) Sources of Customary Law:

a) Voluntary Pacts: agreements or conventions which individuals or kin groups establish among themselves, in writing, toward the attainment of specific ends.

b) Qanuns: tariffs or enumerations of fines for various infractions established by the various social units.

c) Local Custom: in effect, the "national" feeling of equity which may ultimately become fused and intertwined with religious law.

B) Berber Justice, with a Hypothesis on the Survival of Custom: (fragmentary):

671 177 I think it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco not to have kept the Rif from contamination by the Shari'a (Muslim religious law), which the French in their zone of Morocco and in Algeria have been able to do, among Berber populations existing in these areas[1]. ...I think that Spain, ultimately, has Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of customary law[2].

[124] In April 1939, the late Si Hammadi nd-Hajj Sh'aib, of the local community of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, of the clan of the Imrabdhen in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, told me: "The Shari'a did not intervene

671 in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "be-
179 cause this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the
124 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

671 In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it con-
179 tinues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics)
[195] these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

671 To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5],
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
000 to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after 628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

671 [177] the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 428 562 171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact, get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

681 Berber criminal law admits the death penalty, pecuniary sanctions (i.e. fines), reprisal (i.e. vengeance), despoliation, confiscation and the taking of hostages; but not maltreatment, confinement, talion[50], Koranic capital punishment[51] or mutilation. I should classify Berber sanctions or penalties as follows:

1) Pecuniary or Monetary Sanctions (fines, despoliation, confiscation of property)
2) Corporal Sanctions (death, plunder, taking of strangers as hostages)
3) Afflicting Moral Sanctions (banishment, adverse publicity)

[778] It is very probable (sic) that the Rifians knew of other such sanctions reflected in the Kabyle qanuns of Algeria (such as the enforced shaving of beards and mustaches, a hirsute face being considered a manly attribute), but the memory of them has not remained [779] sufficiently clear[52]. It is very doubtful that they would ever have admitted whippings or beatings, or the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, as prescribed in the Koran[53]; for no dharfiqth would ever have allowed one of its members to submit to anything of the sort. Berber custom rejects punishment of this type.

The graded scale of fines is worked up according to the external manifestation of the crime, from its beginnings through its commission, and the coefficient of this scale is both the act and the consequences of the crime in question. But it turns out to be infantile (sic), for the manner in which the crime is committed is sanctioned rather than the basis, or the act itself. Thus, for example, from the time a man threatens to shoot a gun at someone, there is a penalty which increases until the bullet hits his adversary[54].

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

[113] 3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 199 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 195 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

(682) 2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) (114) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300). However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

(171)

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177 829 152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled [123] a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

671 clarify to us the efforts of one of the freest peoples to handle their own affairs and, jealous of their rights in an authentic democracy, to impose notions of conduct upon themselves voluntarily.

671 What could the Aith Waryaghar, as Rifians in that stage of society, 177 have done with a law code on a European style? Just what many of them did: to refuse to understand it, to cry out against seeing themselves obliged to suffer it, to place themselves in Divine hands so as not to awaken involvements in its powerful and intricate meshes and so as not to empty their money bags to fill it with official papers. This would not have been worth anything to them, and a good proof of this is the slight service which their religious code can offer them for their convenience when they see themselves obliged to have recourse to persisting in such improvisations.

671 Here the Rifian qanuns remain, unknown or ignored by investigators, so that up to the present (1939), as far as I know, they have not had the honor of seeing themselves reproduced integrally and faithfully; and it does not seem that they have attracted men of laws, whose criticism and science is of another and higher order than the impassioned observations and common and individual interpretation of a [648] tribal administrator, to them. They would not fail to reap many benefits for us, and the greatest ambition for Spain: the respect and esteem which the efforts of her sons creates by their contribution to the development and improvement of humanity and by the scrupulousness in the fulfillment of her international duties.[8]

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
179 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
689 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 177 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 681 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Rsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 673 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
691 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!"

648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

[114]

452 on a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the 452 554 extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has [177] [464] been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the [177] only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nador where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 • MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bŭga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

101 114 thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[9] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

197 Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[10] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[11] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arab-[177] ized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[12]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[13] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[14] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[15] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system [212] of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[16]

[9] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[113] [10] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[113] [11] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[113] [12] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[113] [13] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[113] [14] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[15] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[16] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[9]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[9] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[9] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[*] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 777 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 177 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 779 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[*] The Senhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca." The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues."

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique." It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain." It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time." The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila." The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

" D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

" Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

" The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

" G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

" Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

" André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[77] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[78] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[79] Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[80] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[81] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[77] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[78] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[79] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[80] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[81] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402-412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The pattern of colonization was different in the French zone.[7] Drawn by the classic motivations of the time—trade, new land, promise of quick profits, adventure, and dissatisfaction with conditions at home—French colonists poured into Morocco by the thousands. In each of the main areas of *colon* activity—i.e., the plains of the lower Sebou, the Gharb, and the area around Oujda—European colonization necessitated displacement of native farmers and pastoralists. The resulting confusion and conflict were important factors in the development of Moroccan nationalism.[8] In 1955 French settlers owned about 7 per cent of Morocco's productive land, but this land was exceptionally fertile and accounted for 40 per cent of the national income from agriculture.[9] In comparison, the extent of agricultural development in Spanish Morocco seems negligible.

If rural colonization was negligible in Spanish Morocco, the military occupation was not. Since its inception, the Spanish protectorate functioned as a military training ground. During most of the period of effective Spanish occupation, at least 200,000 troops were stationed in the northern zone. This force included the *mehalla*, or Khalifian army, of about 10,000 native troops, and large concentrations of the Spanish army. The more accessible rural areas were patrolled by the *makhzaniya*, or rural police, a force patterned after the Spanish *guardia civil*. Rifians, especially the Aith Wariyaghar, were eager to serve in one of the military forces, and the Spanish, who valued their obedience and hardiness, were just as eager to enlist them. Rifian troops formed a substantial part of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War. Military service under Spanish officers or "instructors" led to acceptance of some aspects of Iberian culture. The most striking evidence of such acceptance is the widespread use of Spanish as a second language in the Rif.

Contact between Spaniards and the rural population took place also at the scattered outposts of the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas. At the head of each outpost was an army officer called an *interventor*. His function was to act as overseer of tribal government. Most *intervenciones* had a school, with a Spanish teacher, and a few had doctors and veterinarians. The Spaniards led a rather sedentary life, and did not attempt to intervene in the routine events of tribal life. But they could impose fines or make arrests if necessary, and the tribal authorities were obliged to implement Spanish directives if they wished to remain in power.

In Morocco, as in most colonial areas, the extent of road building and improvement in communications is a reliable measure of European influence. In Spanish Morocco the first roads were constructed to facilitate pacification and administration. Once this network was established, little effort was made to add tributary lines for more efficient movement of goods. In 1956 Spanish Morocco had about 1,000 kilometers of primary roads, but only half of this distance was surfaced. The track from Bab Taza to Alhucemas was the only durable link between the western and the eastern sector of the zone, and it was blocked for days or even

[7] M. M. Knight, *Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism* (New York: Appleton, 1937).

[8] Comité d'Action Marocaine, *Plan de réformes marocaines* (Paris: privately published, 1934).

[9] On European holdings in French Morocco, see Planche 33 *b*, "Exploitations rurales européennes," *Atlas du Maroc* (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.